Byzantine Art, Latin West

Art with History: The Role of Spolia in the Cumulative Work of Art

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IN HONOR of Kurt Weitzmann and the wide purview of his scholarly interests in medieval art—interests that extend beyond Byzantium to a number of Western centers of artistic enterprise, particularly those that exhibited special sensitivity to Byzantine culture—this paper will speak to the question of the role of spolia in the Byzantine-influenced art of Ottonian Germany.[1] Although the use of spolia during this period, particularly for *ars sacra* or sacred liturgical objects, has long been known, scholars have recently become increasingly attentive to the ideological bases of such use.[2] This paper examines the ideological aspect of Ottonian uses of spolia by considering the context and function of a group of objects dating from about 980 to 1060.[3] It will be argued that the works of art studied here reveal a particular perception of history, a history that is Christian but cumulative, in the sense that earlier cultures, both pagan and Christian, are subsumed within it. The works of art are aggregates, being made up of concrete remains of ancient Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Fatimid, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, Carolingian, and/or earlier Ottonian artifacts which in sum represent the cultural foundations of the Ottonian era. These remains, or spolia, are held together in the matrix of the resultant new work in programmatic designs that indicate that the fusion, although a conglomerate, is also an artistic statement expressing a triumph of the whole over its own component parts, the present over its varied past. The spolia are visible witnesses of a rich past, yet they are also vital contributors to the meaning of the present. They make the work of art an art with history, a tangible history that is presumed to have reached a culminating height. As its frame of reference goes beyond allusion to a single group of forebears, which is often the case in revivalist arts, its multicultural attestations may form dynastic ladders and a thematic and cultural stratigraphy that support the claim of glorious global and temporal eminence.

Not every work achieves such fulsome eminence, but a surprising number attempt it. A first illustration of this phenomenon from the group of objects under review is the Herimann cross of the mid-eleventh century, usually dated ca. 1036–1056, and housed in the Cologne Diocesan Museum (Figs. 1 and 2). It has a stunning spoil. The gilt bronze *corpus* of the crucified Christ made for this cross was cast to accommodate a Roman gemstone as the artistic equivalent of Christ's head. The precious lapis lazuli head is a beautifully carved example of first-century glyptic art and is convincingly shaped in the round, but it presents feminine features. Indeed, it actually portrays a woman, the Roman empress Livia.[4]

Recent scholarship demonstrates that this object was intended for the Altar of the Cross in the Cologne church of St. Maria im Kapitol, which was dedicated by Pope Leo IX, a member of the imperial family, in 1049.[5] The donors of the work, clearly represented on

1 Among his many publications dealing with the Latin West, see especially "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," *DOP* 20 (1966), 3–24, reprinted in *Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium* (London 1982), no. I.

2 W. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Medieval Settings," *JWarb* 1 (1937), 204–220; H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie und Umfeld in Egberts Trier," *ZKunstg* 50 (1987), 305–336. See also H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London 1991), vol. I, 179–200.

3 An earlier version of this paper was presented by the author at the College Art Association annual meeting in Boston, 1987, as part of a panel organized by William Tronzo, entitled "The Perception of Antiquity in the Middle Ages: Ancient Spoils and Medieval Art," with papers also by Judson Emerick, Dorothy Glass, Dale Kinney, Thomas Lyman, Jill Meredith, Debra Pincus, and Gregory Whittington.

4 *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, exhib. cat. (Cologne 1985), vol. I, 134, 136, 157; vol. II, 27, 87, 207; U. Bracker-Wester, "Der Christuskopf vom Herimannkreuz—ein Bildnis der Kaiserin Livia," in *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, vol. II (Cologne 1973), 177–180; H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Westfälische Goldkreuze und ihre Voraussetzungen in Rheinland und Niedersachsen," in *Rhein und Maas*, vol. II, 181–190; M. Schulze-Dörlamm, in *Das Reich der Salier, 1024–1125*, exhib. cat., Historischen Museum der Pfalz (Sigmaringen 1992), 429–431.

5 R. Wesenberg, "Das Herimannkreuz," in *Rhein und Maas* (as in note 4), vol. II, 167–177, esp. 167.

the reverse (Fig. 2)—the archbishop of Cologne, Herimann II, and his sister, Ida, abbess of the St. Maria im Kapitol community—were grandchildren of the German emperor Otto II and his empress, the famous Byzantine Theophano. The gem is thought to have come to Herimann and Ida as a family heirloom, perhaps with the dissemination of the Ottonian treasury early in the century.[6] Its reference to the Roman Livia must have been vague in their minds, mingling as it does with references to Early Christian and Byzantine art conjured up by the work and by its intended location on the St. Maria im Kapitol altar: these include the surrounding trefoil-plan church, recalling Early Christian triconchs; the soon to be installed narrative doors, recalling those of Santa Sabina; the youthful, feminine, lapis face of the crucified on the cross itself, suggesting the beardless Christ of Early Christian art; and, especially, the donors' attitudes of proskynesis before the patroness of the church, Mary, recalling examples of contemporary Byzantine art.[7] Paramount must have been the gem's documentation of the noble lineage of its former owners, through their German, so-called Roman, imperial line, which the lapis assures. This use of spolia in the cross thus induces a whole range of references, one building on the other, none limited to Rome alone, and the whole depending for its ultimate meaning on the contemporary as well as the cumulative effect of these associations. Upon the altar in Cologne, the associations must have articulated well the high status of Herimann and Ida.

Such an accretive context of references is explicit in the well-known Lothar cross of ca. 1000, which is considered a gift of the emperor Otto III to Aachen Cathedral (Fig. 3).[8] Its fine goldsmith work surrounds a Roman cameo of Augustus, an example of spolia of the first order. Also important, and also spolia in a sense, is the crystal below. It is a seal made for Otto's Carolingian predecessor, King Lothar II (855–869), for whom the cross is named.[9] With these two gems, dynastic lineage and authority for Otto as "Emperor of the Romans," reaching back through the accumulated phases of "Roman" history, including both ancient Roman and Carolingian eras, is visually certified. The association of the political hegemony of an Augustus-like Otto—Otto III was the most Roman of this dynasty, in his dress, his court protocol, his residence, his sentiment—with the triumphal sway of Christianity is implied by the elegant image of Christ engraved on the reverse side of the cross. There a laurel wreath over Christ's head and the dove of the Holy Spirit form counterparts to the wreath and eagle of Augustus on the display side. That this cross was used in the Aachen coronation ritual helps explain why the image of the crucified Christ should be relegated to the back of the cross while the Roman and Carolingian rulers dominate the front.

In the case of the Borghorst cross now in Münster (Figs. 4–6) the use of spolia affords more complex interpretation.[10] I believe it to be mid-eleventh century in date, ca. 1046–1056. The cross is fashioned around spolia from earlier eras, including ancient Roman intaglios, some representing classical deities, and it features splendid examples of tenth-century Fatimid rock crystal. Although these small crystal flasks were originally intended for personal, cosmetic use at a brilliant Islamic court, they serve here as the centerpieces of the work and function as reliquaries. The central crystal flask, which contains relics of Christ's passion (blood, sponge, and Cross), is inserted into the work so as to be visible from both sides. It is appropriately located beneath the reused repoussé depiction of the Crucifixion, a location that is suggestive in calling to mind the chalice often represented at the foot of Christ's Cross, an iconographic reference to the Church and its chief sacrament. The idea is enhanced by the red Byzantine textile within, just visible through the veil of the crystal. Intercessory figures of Peter, Paul, Cosmas, and Damian make up the flanking repoussé reliefs. Below there is a second rock crystal, a perfume flask, which contains relics of saints and martyrs. The goldsmith work between the two crystals (Fig. 5) has been handled so that the reused repoussé figure of Emperor Henry, identified by the embossed inscription "heinric[us] I[m]p[erato]r," seems to fall to his knees in a gesture of prayer very like a Byzantine posture of proskynesis. He extends his arms upward toward the chalicelike crystal flask containing the Passion relics, while a pair of angels hovers above him. A large intaglio cut with a standing pagan god abuts the base of the flask. Interestingly, this antique stone is set on its side like a toppled idol.

Confirmation that the positioning of Henry's gesture

[6] D. Kötzsche, in *Rhein und Maas* (as in note 4), vol. I, E2, 197; Wesenberg, "Herimannkreuz" (as in note 5), 170–171, 175; F. Steinbach, "Die Ezzonen," in *Das Erste Jahrtausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, vol. II (Düsseldorf 1964), 858–859.

[7] Wesenberg, "Herimannkreuz" (as in note 5), 174–175.

[8] H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (Düsseldorf 1957), no. 32, pls. 90–95; P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200* (Harmondsworth 1972), 100–101; P. Schramm and F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich 1962), nos. 30, 106; H. Fillitz, "Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst," in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, exhib. cat., Diocesan Museum (Hildesheim 1993), vol. I, 176.

[9] G. Kornbluth, "The Seal of Lothar II: Model and Copy," *Francia* 17 (1990), 55–68.

[10] J. L. Luckhardt, in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae* (as in note 4), vol. III, 106–108; Westermann-Angerhausen, "Westfälische Goldkreuze" (as in note 4); H. Eickel, "Das Borghorst Stiftskreuz," in *1000 Jahre Borghorst. Festschrift der Stadt Borghorst im Jahre der 1000 Wiederkehr der Gründung des Stiftes* (Borghorst 1968), 45–55; M. Schulze-Dörlamm, in *Das Reich der Salier* (as in note 4), 278–281; G. Jászai, in *Imagination des Unsichtbaren. 1200 Jahre bildende Kunst im Bistum Münster*, exhib. cat. (Münster 1993), vol. II, 350–352.

is intentionally calculated comes from the design on the reverse side of the cross. There, in an engraved and inscribed design, Bertha, donor of the work and abbess of the Borghorst convent, exactly echoes Henry's obeisance. Placed between the two crystal reliquaries, she occupies the position on this side directly corresponding to Henry's opposite. According to the inscription, she petitions for salvation and requests the intercession of the saints whose relics are enclosed here. The fact that this Abbess Bertha bears the same name as the founder of her convent, Bertha, likens her to her illustrious predecessor in local Borghorst history even as her pose links her to her imperial analogue, Henry.

The question of which Henry is represented on the cross is still being debated. In my view the style and technique of the repoussé panels indicate that they are all spolia from the time of Henry II (1014–1024). It is clear, however, that this cross was made to receive them and that they were not added haphazardly to the work after its completion but were basic to its original conception. I believe that they were salvaged from another unknown source and reused here by Abbess Bertha, most likely with the hope of an intentional equivocal reference, in the time of Henry III (1046–1056). The latter Henry was a great patron of the Borghorst abbey and his dates coincide with those of Abbess Bertha. Her exact history is unknown but her tenure at the abbey can be placed in the mid-eleventh century. Although the spolia might have passed from Henry II to others and come to Borghorst either via Henry III or Bertha, the emphasis upon Bertha as abbess suggests that she was the conceiver of the project. Of course the relics may also be thought of as spolia, just as the crystals are, and all of these lend important associative value to the form of Bertha. Whatever their source, in employing them Bertha manifested her importance within a long lineage: it leads from the time of pagan imperial Rome, recalled by the Roman gems; the time of Christ's Passion, recalled by his Crucifixion and his relics; and the work of his followers, the apostles Peter and Paul and his martyrs, Cosmas, Damian, and others, recalled in the repoussé panels and the relics; through the wider spheres of the Byzantines, via the textiles and the proskynesis poses, as well as the Fatimid caliphs, signaled by the crystals; to the Ottonian and Salian emperors, i.e., Henry. This metaleptic chain is particularly enriched by the prestigious references to Fatimid culture via the opulent rock crystals that are focal in the design of the work. An earlier Bertha, the margravine of Tuscany, who was daughter of Lothar II and claimed Rome as a part of her overlordship, had sent overtures to the Fatimid caliph, El Muqtafi, suggesting an alliance against the Byzantines. Although this did not come to pass, word of such a bold maneuver has come down to us and may have been known to Abbess Bertha as well. Although it is pure conjecture, we may speculate whether Abbess Bertha, our donor, did not hope to imply association with her forward, noble homonym as she surely did with her abbey's founder, Bertha.[11] We may speculate further that the cross's references may intentionally present a multilayered, supratemporal view of history culminating in the figure of the abbess. If so, in her form there would coalesce royal connections, Bertha's own local past at Borghorst, as well as her present and her hoped-for eternal future, this last being vouched for by the inscription and by the clouds banked about her diminutive form. History seems visibly cumulative and especially tangible in this work.

The nature of Ottonian *ars sacra* that provides such a graphic analogue to the medieval concept of Christian history is well represented in the reliquary shrine of St. Andrew, made for Archbishop Egbert at Trier ca. 977–983, and housed in the Trier Cathedral Treasure (Figs. 7 and 8).[12] This shrine, encasing a part of the sandal of St. Andrew, is a veritable compendium of goldsmithing techniques: gold repoussé, gilded silver, niello, engraving, *opus interrasile*, gold filigree, among others, combined with cloisonné and champlevé enamels and elegant ivory paneling. The whole was originally capped by an ornament, perhaps a figured Fatimid rock crystal, atop the pedestal of the foot. Against the central ivory panels on each of the long sides are reused gilt bronze lions, probably of late seventh- or early eighth-century date. They are of the Anglo-Saxon (Hiberno-Saxon) style that can be associated with early Echternach and Trier manuscripts. The special incrustations of the narrow rear panel are additional spolia. The circular brooch of splendid garnet inlay, which was formerly called Frankish, has recently been shown to be a Trier work of the second half of the sixth century.[13] It enframes a gold coin of the Byzantine emperor Justinian. The interesting point made by these objects of ancient and different cultural origin—Fatimid(?), Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, and Byzantine—is that they are featured as fully as the

[11] K. J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours 900–1250* (London 1982), 111–112. One might compare the conflation of Denis's at Saint-Denis; S. Crosby with P. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (New Haven 1987), 3–6.

[12] Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie und Umfeld" (as in note 2), gives the earlier literature, including her own detailed dissertation, *Die Goldschmiedearbeiten der Trierer Egbertwerkstatt* (Beiheft, *Trierer Zeitschrift* 36 [1973]) (Trier 1973), 53ff., and the basic study of F. Rademacher, "Der Trierer Egbertschrein. Seine Beziehungen zur fränkisch-karolingisches Goldschmiedekunst," *Trierer Zeitschrift* 11 (1936), 144–166; A. von Euw and H. Westermann-Angerhausen, in *Rhein und Maas*, vol. I (Cologne 1972), C1, 177; F. Ronig, in *Schatzkunst Trier* (Trier 1984), no. 23, see also nos. 6 and 12. For the engraving of 1655, which shows an ornament in place atop the foot, see Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie und Umfeld," fig. 9.

[13] B. Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewelry. Emergence and Social Implications* (Stockholm 1985), 170–171.

spolia from ancient Rome, chiefly small intaglios and the ancient millefiori panel of the shorter inscription. The prominent longer inscription around the perimeter of the altar tells us that the shrine was commissioned by Egbert to contain relics of the apostles, including some of Peter, and especially Andrew's sandal. The short text indicates that the work is dedicated to the honor of St. Andrew. Study of the entire shrine during a dismantling, which allowed a thorough technical examination of its facture, revealed not only that the work was made *de novo* for Egbert, but that he had the shrine designed specifically to incorporate these special earlier Fatimid(?), Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, and Byzantine elements.[14] The work as a whole is thus *cumulative* in the sense that it combines the art of several cultures and builds on their frames of reference to broaden the range of the reliquary's programmatic impact.

Within the program, the apostolic age is featured. It is evoked by the extraordinary naturalism of the gold repoussé foot and enhanced by the gems that simulate the sandal actually preserved within the coffer, thus making Andrew seem manifestly present. Further, the foot adumbrates Egbert's own ambitions for apostolic associations. His spiritual lineage, as heir to St. Peter and St. Andrew, could find validation through the spolia acting as intermediaries. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen has brilliantly shown that when he was appointed bishop of Trier in 977, Egbert's political agenda was to restore Trier to its former level of importance as the first cathedral of the Ottonian realm. This was a role it had lost to Cologne, along with other papal privileges, during the episcopacy of the powerful Cologne bishop, Bruno. Egbert's objectives were also to provide his Trier cathedral with appropriately splendid liturgical equipment after a period of reduced circumstances. He found support for his aspirations in the revival of emphasis upon the apostolic phase of Trier's history. Texts vouching that the founders of the Trier church, Eucharius, Valerius, and Maternus, were disciples of St. Peter himself, date from this time. The creation of the "speaking reliquaries" of Trier, the Holy Nail, and the Staff of Peter along with the Andrew shrine, all Egbert's commissions, enmeshed with these objectives. The Staff of Peter reliquary strongly links the Trier founders to St. Peter. According to legend, the founders were sent to Trier by Peter, who conveyed his staff to Trier via their embassy. These innovative reliquaries thus provide visible proofs of Trier's lofty apostolic origins. Egbert's mission was like that spelled out by Clement of Alexandria, who, as Westermann-Angerhausen has shown, called the apostles the "feet of Christ," recalling the words of Romans 10:15: "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things."[15] Egbert's charge was to carry on the mission of the apostles, to walk in their footsteps, and metaphorically carry through Ottonian Christendom the scepter of St. Peter. Therefore the foot of Andrew is a work of art that conveys the idea of a *cumulative* historical tradition in Trier. Egbert's present is identified with Trier's and is enriched by its intimate association with the past, which is assimilated in it and superseded by it, yet the apostolic past, the time of St. Andrew, is given immediacy by being visibly embedded within the present. The spolia induce the transcendence of time and space as these references are aesthetically and tangibly linked together.

A final and particularly arresting demonstration of spolia in the service of political aims is seen in the ambo of Henry II, ca. 1002, still preserved in the Aachen palace chapel (Fig. 9).[16] Of the repoussé panels, which originally represented the four evangelists in the corners of the ambo's composition, one elegant piece survives. The original plan for the work was, as at present, a *crux gemmata* as the focal center of the four writers of the word, flanked by six ivory panels arranged in pairs. These ivories recall the lost pulpit at Saint-Denis, described by Abbot Suger as having ivory panels with ancient mythological subjects; it is usually considered to have been a Carolingian work made for the dedication of Saint-Denis, at which Charlemagne himself was present. The Aachen panels also represent pagan figures: two of the nude Bacchus, a nude Nereid being abducted, an Isis, and two warrior panels, all thought to be sixth-century Egyptian—Alexandrian—work.[17]

Particularly striking are the vessels of semiprecious stone that make up the dominant central cross of the design. The three bowls constituting the vertical axis are Roman.[18] The two extraordinary objects making up the extended arms of this "Greek cross," a cup and its saucer in Fatimid rock crystal set against the *émail brun* background panels,[19] are Islamic. Following Buchkremer,

14 Rademacher, "Trierer Egbertschrein" (as in note 12).

15 Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spolie" (as in note 2), 313–319.

16 E. Doberer, "Studien zu dem Ambo Kaiser Heinrichs II. zu Aachen," in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (ForschKA 3) (Wiesbaden 1957), 308–359; H. Fillitz, "Das Evangelistenrelief vom Ambo Heinricus II. im Aachener Münster," ibid., 360–367; idem, "Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst" (as in note 8), 185–187; Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale* (as in note 8), no. 137.

17 H. Stern, "The Ivories on the Ambo of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle," *Connoisseur* 153 (July, 1963), 166–171; E. Panofsky, ed. and trans., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton 1946), 73; K. Erdmann, "Islamische Bergkristallarbeiten," *JbPrKS* 61 (1940), 125–146.

18 Doberer, "Studien zu dem Ambo" (as in note 16).

19 C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Glaeser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* (Berlin 1930), vol. I, 68; K. Erdmann, "Die Bergkristallarbeiten der Islamischen Abteilung," *Berliner Museen* 63 (1942), 7–10; idem, "Fatimid Rock Crystals," *Oriental Art* 3 (1951), 142–146; idem, "Die Fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen," in *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter* (ForschKA 2) (Baden-Baden 1953), 189–205; H. R. Hahn-

Erika Doberer's intensive study of the ambo and its wood core reveals that the ambo was made *for* these ancient pieces of art, which must have been highly prized treasures. The agate bowls would have been of unusual size and value. Above and below are inscriptions referring to these gems and to the dedication of the work to the Virgin. The donor, who gave personally of his possessions for this commission, is named "REX PIUS HEINRICUS," the pious King Henry II. The placement of these words directly above and on axis with the name of the Virgin gives them special prominence. Also, the *émail brun* technique is interestingly reversed in the inscription, allowing Henry's name and title, "REX," to be highlighted in gold.

As with the Andrew shrine, we observe that in the ambo the spolia are ancient works, mostly pagan but not exclusively Roman in character and origin, and that they are used to honor art having a particularly serious religious function. They are assigned privileged positions within the artistic design that conveys their honorific mission. Indeed the spolia are focal elements of the overall scheme and are not simply tucked into marginal borders. In the ambo a Roman bowl is used where we might expect a bust of Christ, in a clipeus, say, surrounded by the four writers of the Gospels (as in the Trier Gospels). Percy Schramm and Florentine Mütherich thought that this was the original scheme of the ambo,[20] but that conjecture is disproved by traces of the original mount and by analysis of the carving of the wood core, which was hollowed to accept a circular dish of just the kind we see there at present. Its domical shape strengthens the simple cruciform design, which is analogous to book covers, staurotheks, and portable altars like the *Portatile* of Henry (1014–1024) in Munich.[21]

By stressing the cumulative character of these works, I do not mean to imply that they are simply pastiches, serendipitous accumulations of varied sumptuous materials and techniques, even though the exotic arts of ancient Rome, Coptic Alexandria, and Fatimid Egypt were all highly prized (and, with regard to Byzantine art, certainly envied) in Ottonian court circles, and even though those circles were not completely above aristocratic ostentation. The possibility that a number of the pieces came from an imperial Byzantine treasure via envoys and embassies, exchanges of gifts from both Fatimid and Byzantine courts, and passed through the Ottonian families as heirlooms, would seem to support that idea. The clash of cultural and religious values introduced into these sacral monuments by the spolia is too blatant, however, for this explanation to suffice. Considering the awesome resources at the disposal of these patrons and the heavy expenditures these composites must have required, and particularly considering the exquisite quality of the Ottonian workmanship, which in every case is designed specifically for the spolia and indicates a taste neither awkward nor ostentatious, further explanation is in order.

According to Doberer, Henry's ambo would have stood originally at the entrance to the Carolingian choir of the palace chapel (Fig. 10) where it would have focused sight lines for all viewers looking toward the sanctuary.[22] The sheen of these huge Roman and Fatimid vessels would have carried the cross theme of the ambo well across the chapel. The "apotropaicization" or Christianization of their paganism by their collective form of the cross would have been pleasant for an enthroned sovereign opposite to contemplate, as would the wide sway of influence implied by their presence.

The ambo was placed on axis with the altar of Mary and with the tombs of Charlemagne and Otto III, both just behind it and surely linked with it in what we might call a symbolic political program. If we recall Henry's struggle to succeed to the throne following Otto III's death, the ambo's spolia take on special meaning. Otto III, who was childless, died suddenly in January, 1002. In the confusion following his demise, his cousin Henry quickly seized power in what amounted to a coup d'etat. Henry's presumption was vigorously contested. Resentment that had risen at the time of the succession of Otto III, directed at his family line, resurfaced. Also, in his attempts to further monastic independence from episcopal authority during his tenure as Duke of Bavaria, Henry had engendered differences with the powerful princely bishops whose support he desperately needed later in his claim for kingship, but who then preferred his rival. Winning Willigis to his side, he hastily had himself crowned king at Mainz in June of 1002. His support was still very weak, however, and he worked energetically to broaden and consolidate it. Within a few months he succeeded. His efforts to secure his authority as king are surely reflected in his insistence on a second coronation as king, with full formal ritual, in the Aachen palace chapel, on 8 September 1002.[23] Doberer considers the ambo commis-

loser, "Theophilus Presbyter und die Inkunabeln des mittelalterlichen Kristallschliffs an Rhein und Maas," in *Rhein und Maas* (as in note 4), vol. II, 287–296; W. Holzhausen, "Bergkristallarbeiten des Mittelalters," *ZBildK* 64 (1930–31), 199–205, 216–221; P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," *ZDMG* 89 (1935), 329–362.

20 Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale* (as in note 8), no. 137.

21 Ibid., no. 134; H. Fillitz, "Das Kreuzreliquiar Kaiser Heinrichs II. in der Schatzkammer der Münchner Residenz," *Münchner Jarhrbücher*, N.F., 9/10 (1958–59), 15–31.

22 Doberer, "Studien zu den Ambo" (as in note 16), fig. 145; N.B. fig. 142 (reproduced here as Fig. 10), showing Doberer's reconstruction of the original locations of the ambo, altar, and tombs.

23 Ibid., 355; T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages* (London 1991), 186–187; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* (as in note 2), vol. I, 193–196; H. L. Mikoletzky, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und die Kirche* (Vienna 1946), 2, 13–15. For the enhancement of the conception of sacral kingship through the use of symbolic ritual, including the coronation at Aachen and the ceremonial transfer to Henry of the Holy Lance,

sioned for that occasion. With its prominent inscription, "REX PIUS HEINRICUS," with its extravagant Roman spolia, with its crystals suggesting broad realms of noble connection, and with its location adjacent to the tombs of his illustrious predecessors, the emperors Charlemagne and Otto III, the ambo must have trumpeted well Henry's presumed dynastic legitimacy. He could well then aspire to empire. He received the imperial crown in Rome twelve years later, in 1014. In a more general sense the ambo gave visible expression to the ascendancy of contemporary Ottonian Christendom over Roman, Alexandrian, and Fatimid forebears. Indeed, this statement of the Ottonian fulfillment of the concept of a cumulative and culminating Christian history, conceived not so much as a *renovatio* as a *culminatio*, was a worthy rival to similar Byzantine pretensions. The Byzantines' own use of spolia is of course renowned.[24] The Ottonian difference is in the breadth of the range of reference. Later periods also make use of the symbolic and programmatic possibilities of spolia but rarely do they evoke such broad and deep strata of history.

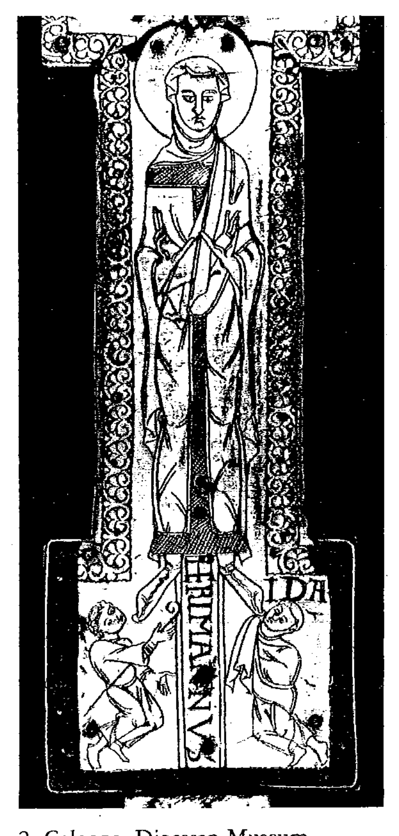
The University of Michigan

see K. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (London 1979), 78–82, 94–97, 99–101.

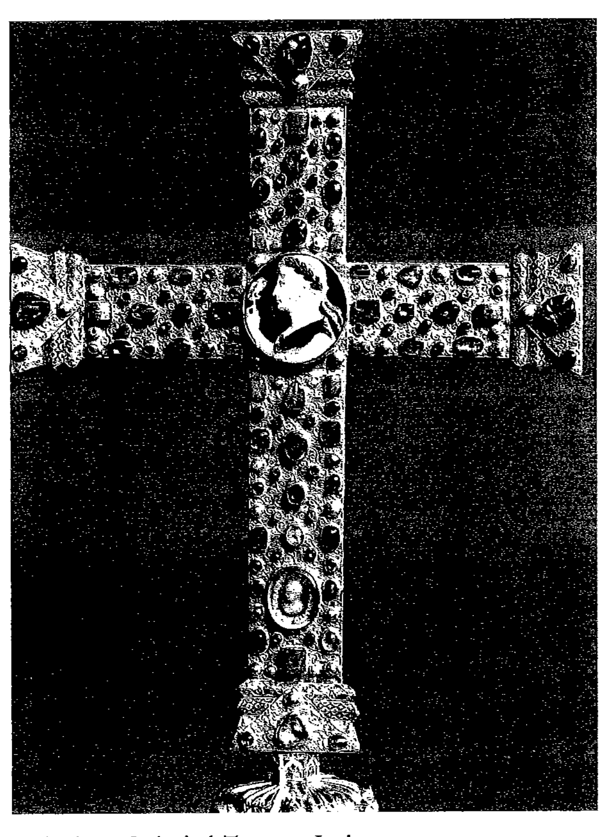
[24] *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, ed. D. Buckton, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (Milan 1984), passim.



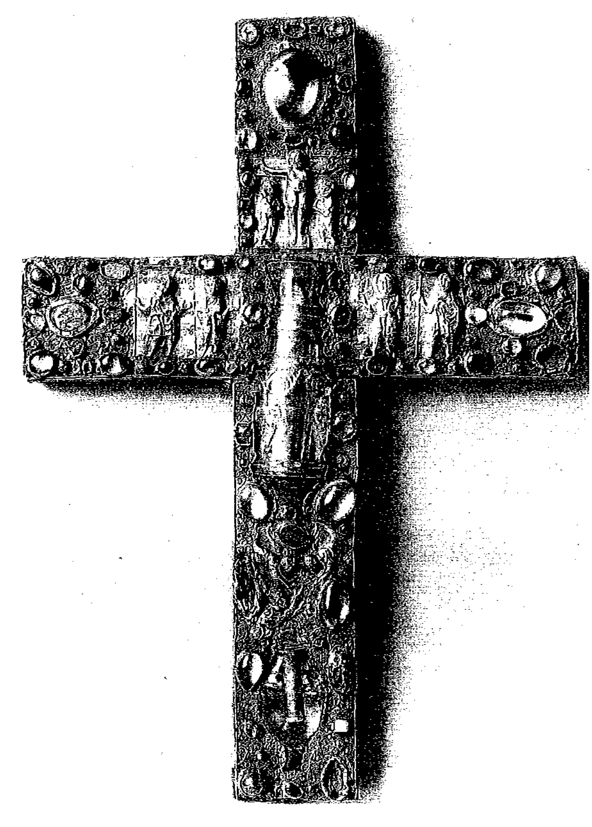
1. Cologne, Diocesan Museum,
Herimann cross



2. Cologne, Diocesan Museum,
Herimann cross, detail of the back

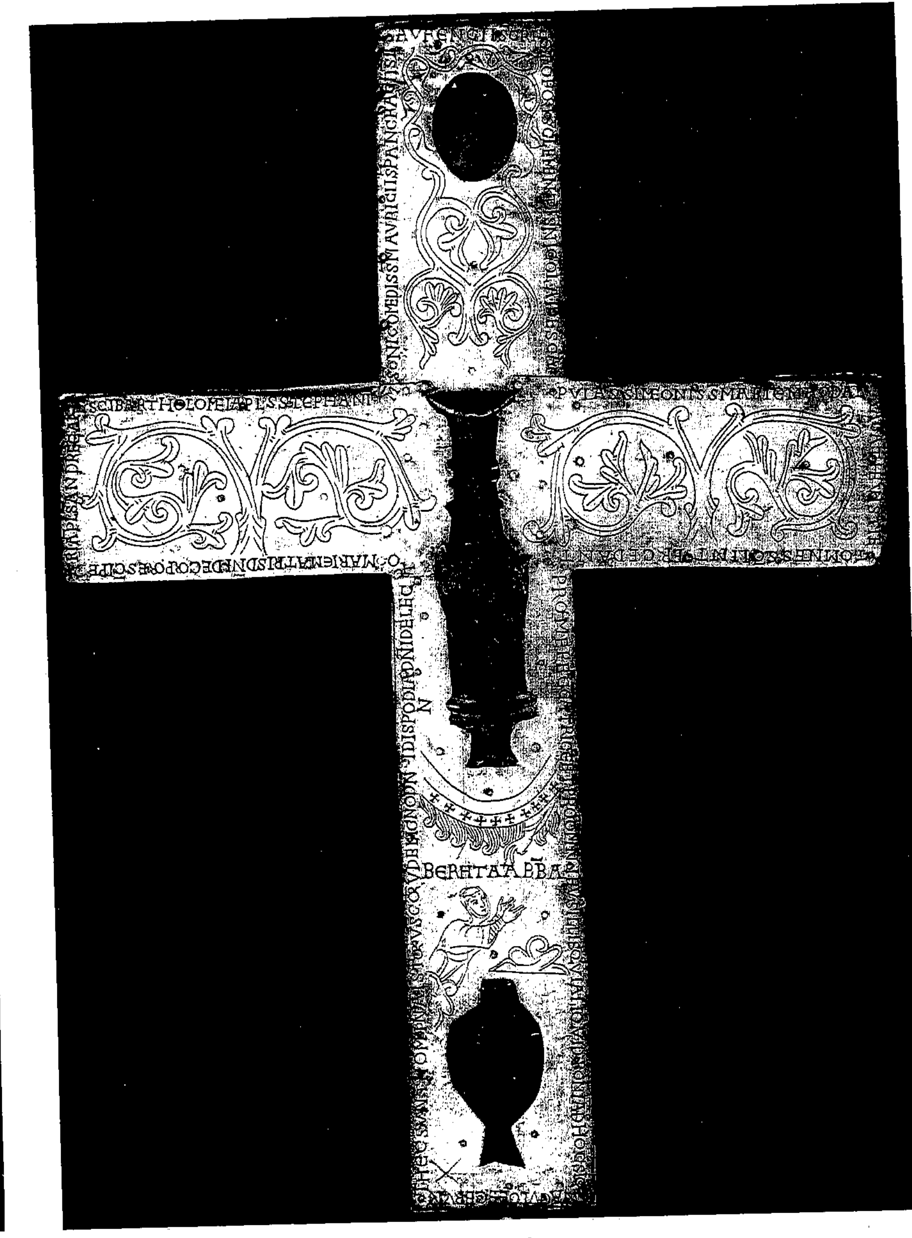


3. Aachen, Cathedral Treasure, Lothar cross

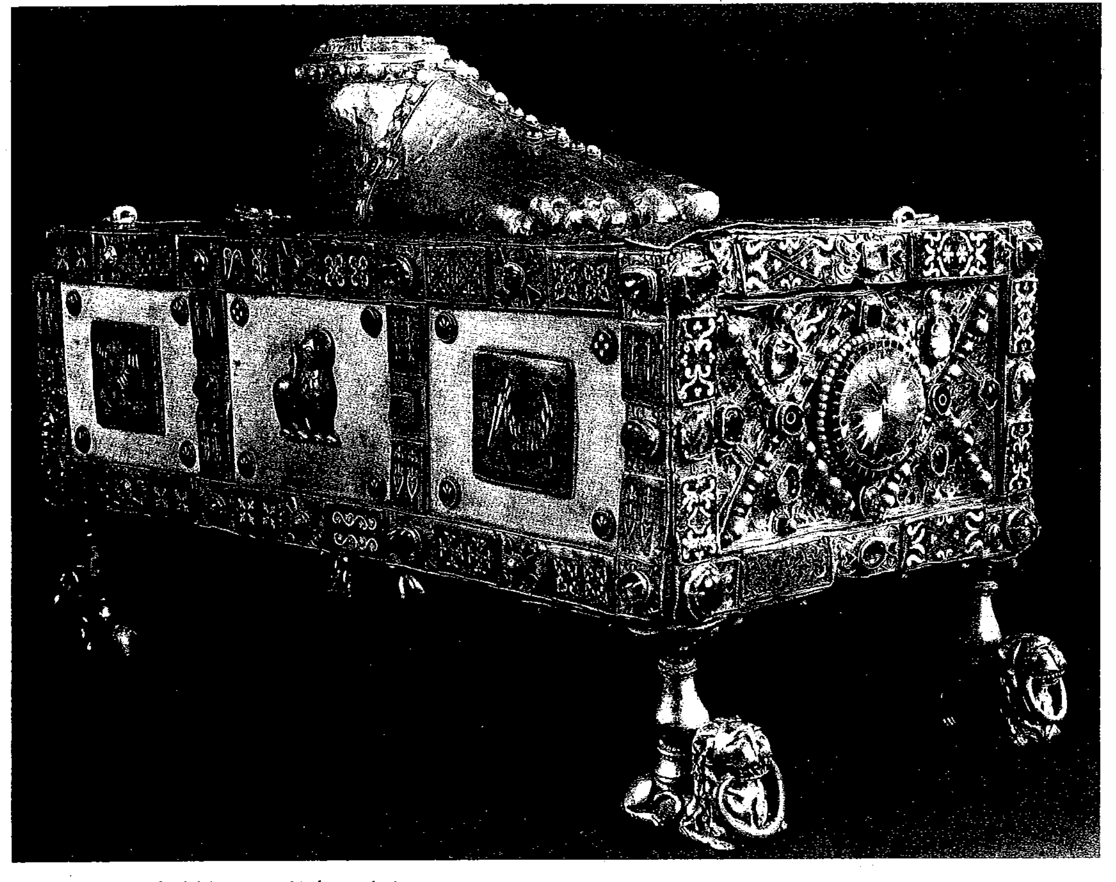


4. Münster, Landesmuseum, Borghorst cross

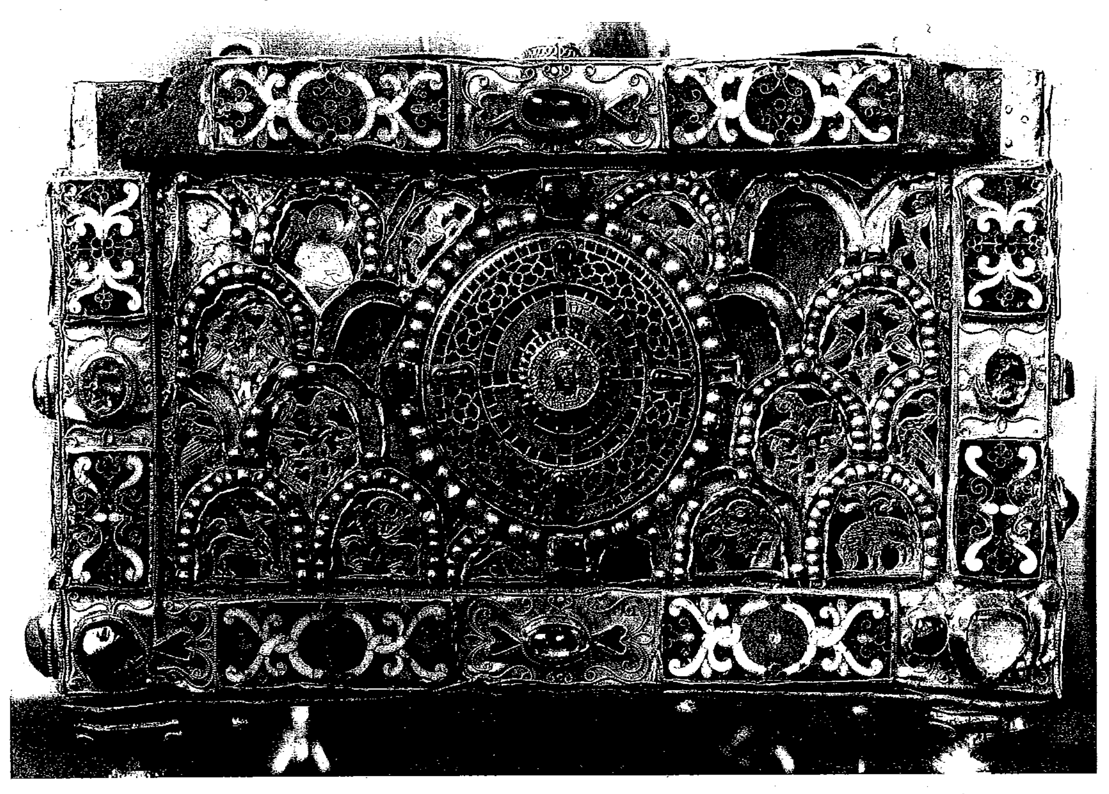
5. Münster, Landesmuseum, Borghorst cross, detail



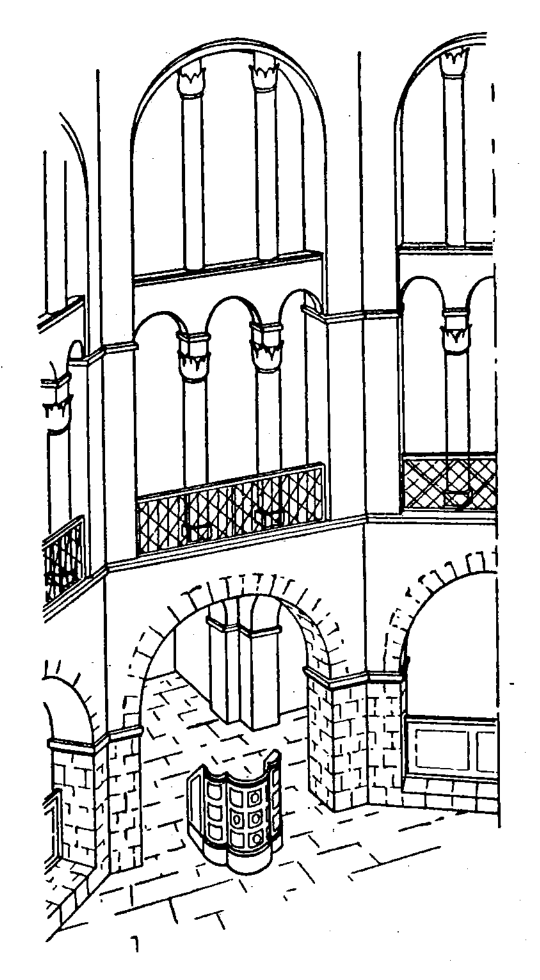
6. Münster, Landesmuseum, Borghorst cross, back

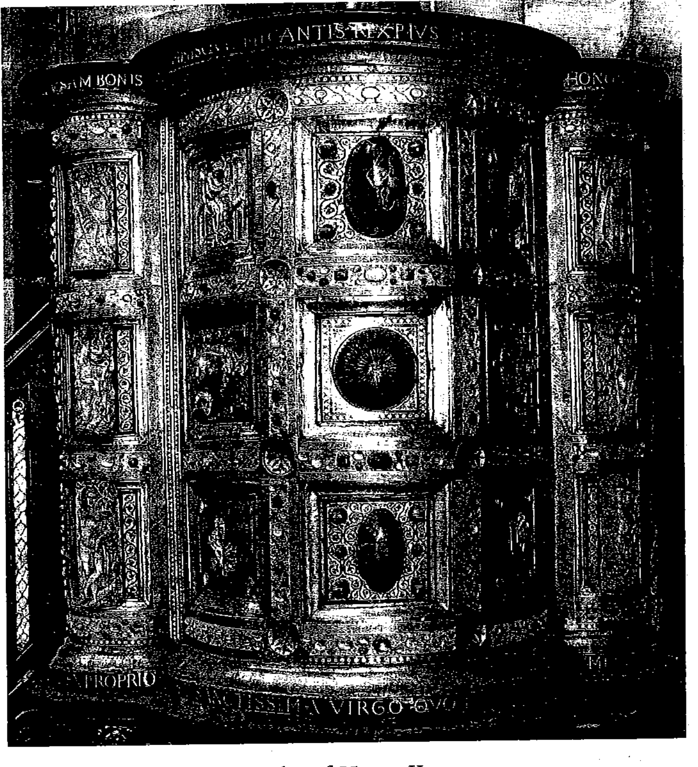


7. Trier, Cathedral Treasure, Egbert shrine



8. Trier, Cathedral Treasure, Egbert shrine, detail

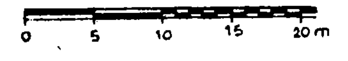




9. Aachen, palace chapel, ambo of Henry II

1. Marienaltar
2. Grab Ottos III.
3. Ambo Heinrichs II.
4. Thron Karls des Großen
   in der Oberkirche

— — — A, a) Schranken nach
BUCHKREMER
. . . . B) Hypothetische Variante von A



10. Aachen, palace chapel, ambo of Henry II, reconstruction showing original location within the chapel